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war were kept by the fighters during peace time. It seems probable that this was the particular domain of the war leaders. Melville (23, pp. 101-102) gives of such a house the following description:

> In its vicinity was another remarkable edifice, built as usual upon the summit of a pi-pi, and at least two hundred feet in length, though not more than twenty in breadth. The whole front of this latter structure was completely open, and from one end to the other ran a narrow verandah, fenced in on the edge of the pi-pi with a picket of canes. Its interior presented the appearance of an immense lounging place, the entire floor being strewn with successive layers of mats, lying between parallel trunks of cocoa-nuts trees, selected for the purpose from the straightest and most symmetrical the vale afforded.
>
> On entering the house, I was surprised to see six muskets ranged against the bamboo on one side, from the barrels of which depended as many small canvas pounches, partly filled with powder. Disposed about these muskets, like the cutlasses that decorate the bulkhead of a man-of-war's cabin, were a great variety of rude spears and paddles, javelins, and war-clubs.

The following description of the warriors', or men's *tapu* house is translated from Garcia's account (14, pp. 54-56):

> Picture in the middle of each village, sometimes before the house of each chief of any note, an esplanade in the form of a parallelogram, thirty to sixty feet long by fifteen to twenty-five wide, entirely built of stones, the upper surfaces of which are smoothly laid, the whole elevated three or four feet above the surface of the ground, sometimes much more. A notched tree trunk leaning against the side serves as a ladder. On such tapu platforms, on which women are never allowed to come, are erected lengthways with the rectangle, but slightly toward the rear, leaving an open space in front, little sacred shelters open in front. The thatched roofs are often supported . . . by small, low, wood columns . . . carved in the form of images of the god, Tiki. . . . It is in this house that all the men of the village customarily come together for their prayers to the gods, and especially for meals, which appear in some way to be regarded as religious rites. . . . Before the meal, each person offers a little bit of food which is hidden in the foliage, saying, "It is for the god (*na te Atua*"). We have even seen their priest but *popoi* in the mouths of their images. . . . The feast over, the remains of the repast are hung upon the walls. . . . . There are in different parts of the apartment, little ornaments and objects made of woven reed and leaves; these are the baubles of the superstition of the inspirational priests. . . . There are often, also, suspended over head by means of little pillars, the shrines decorated with strips of cloth enclosing the bodies of deceased persons of distinction.

THE WARRIORS' DRESS

One of the main reasons for the men's tattooing was to inspire fear in the minds of enemies. This may be regarded also as the primary purpose of most of the headgear and other ornaments used by men. Tattooing, dress and ornaments were to give the fighter the appearance of ferocity, power, alertness and speed. Fighters in general wore such dress and ornaments as they were fortunate enough to possess, were it *pa'e kea, pava hina, titi owoho,* or what not. (See Personal Adornment.) The war dress of the *toa* was always highly elaborate. Their position required it

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292 •714 and their prowess gave them the means of acquiring the articles of self-decoration through the admiration of their fellow tribesmen, through the generosity of their chief, and through the acquisition of booty from defeated opponents in battle. The *ta'avaha*, a great radiating semicircle of tail feathers of the tropic bird and black cock's feathers, which surmounted the warrior's forehead above a pearl shell ornamented with appliqued carved tortoise-shell (see Dress and Personal Adornments), constituted the chief insignia of the war leader. A second article of dress, which some informants say was exclusively restricted to war leaders *(toa)* was the *kahu ko'oko'o* (Hiva Oa) or *kahu ku'a* (Nuku Hiva), which was either a long robe of cloth draped on the back and hanging to the ground, or a short mantle hanging over the shoulders and tied around the neck. The long robe was sometimes called *kahu ma'o (ma'o*, full length.) The material of this robe or mantle appears sometimes to have been the sacred white and sometimes the red bark cloth. Porter (24, p. 84) describes these articles of dress as follows:

> They wore a cloak, sometimes of red cloth, but more frequently of a white paper cloth, formed of the bark of a tree, thrown not inelegantly over the shoulders.

These robes were very *tapu* and were always kept in the warriors' house. It was forbidden to step on them, they were never worn while a man ate or smoked, a woman who put one on would die.

[301] Large plaques of pearl-shell or of wood colored white with clay were sometimes worn in front of the ears, standing out at right angles to the head and held by a band that ran over the head. The large whales' teeth ear ornaments, *hakakai*, were sometimes worn also with the broad end standing out before the ears. Garcia (14, pp. 88-89) describes warriors wearing great whales'-tooth collars. Melville (23, p. 83) describes a necklace made of boars' tusks. The loin cloth of a warrior was of red bark cloth and had a pendant tailpiece in which were tied many knots. Melville (23, p. 83) describes a fringed waist cloth of a warrior as follows: "The loins of the warrior were girt about with heavy folds of a dark-colored tappa, hanging before and behind in clusters of braided tassels." Over the loin cloth was worn a skirt of human hair *(titi ouoho)*. A shoulderpiece of human hair, like a boa, held together on the breast by a large whale's tooth, was also sometimes worn on Hiva Oa—this was worn over the *kahu ko'oko'o*. In addition, small ornaments of hair were worn on the wrists and on the ankles. These ornaments for the ankles were frequently made of feathers instead of hair. The flowing of the hair and feathers in the wind, as the warrior ran, gave the impression of great speed. A customary part of the ornamention of a war leader or of any

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fighter who had killed a victim was an enemy's skull hanging on the back suspended from the neck (14, p. 88) or attached to the loin cloth or to the ankle. If a man did not own a skull, but was the fortunate possessor of a hand or perhaps merely of a finger of a revenge victim, this was worn on the loin cloth. Stewart (26, p. 213) describes a warrior with a "tremendous head of bushy hair frizzled widely in every direction, cultivated, it is probable, to add to the terror of his looks in battle."

WEAPONS

There seems to have been no restriction of any particular weapon to warriors or chiefs, except perhaps a small throwing club. The war leader carried a full equipment of those described below. In the later period after European discovery, guns, of course, came to be the most prized weapons. One informant, a chief at Pua Ma'u, insists that prior to that time natives had once used the bow *(pana)*, afterwards ceasing to make use of it. In historic times, the bow has been used only by boys for shooting fish in pools in the rocks by the sea. The use of the bow in this way in ancient times for fishing is confirmed by all informants. There is no doubt, therefore, that the ancient inhabitants knew the bow and arrow; but it is very doubtful whether it was ever used as a weapon in war.

The most important weapon that a warrior carried was his club *(u'u* or *akau toa)*. These clubs were of the two types shown in the accompanying sketches (figs. 12, *a* and *b*). Another club, less used, was shaped like an oar blade. There were several types of spears used, all of them made of casuarina. One of these was called the *mati kena* and had a simple shaft with a series of superposed points on the end cut out in such a way that those which pierced the body would break off and stay in it. A second type of casuarina spear, called *kepu*, consisted of a long shaft with a tapering point, the butt end of which was flattened like a narrow oar. (See fig. 12, *c.)* Porter (24, pp. 86-87) gives the following description of the spears that he observed:

> They have two descriptions of spears which they use in their warfare. Those by which they set the most store, are about fourteen feet in length, made of a hard and black wood, called toa, which receives a polish equal to ivory . . . The other kind are smaller, of a light kind of wood, and are thrown (?) with much accuracy to a great distance. At certain distances from their points they are pierced with holes all round, in order that they may break off, with their own weight, on entering a body, and thus be more difficult to extract.

Dordillon (8) gives the following terms for weapons: *toakeho*, lance, bayonet; *taaeki*, lance of pandanus wood; *patoatoa*, lance of young ironwood; *parahua*, tomahawk in form of an oar; *paeo* or *pakeo*, *mataku*, lance

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water, drawing it out, throwing it back in again, and so on, until the victim expired. In the rite called *vai titi* a live victim was attached to four posts by his limbs and roasted over a fire on the sea-shore (9). One of the most cruel of the tortures consisted in roasting a live victim by slow degrees, burying him in the sand on the shore and building fires around him. *Heaka tao* meant to roast a foe in an oven; *heaka te'i*, to dismember a victim; and *heaka makoke*, to parcel out his flesh. The body was cut up with a bamboo knife or a sharp stone. Taava and Taavi were the patron gods of all these practices associated with human sacrifice (4). Victims were sometimes suspended alive on a hook attached to the chin, the lips, or the nostrils.

CAPTIVES AS WAR PRIZES

The bones and certain other parts of revenge victims not offered to the tribal gods were regarded as the prizes of the victim's captors. The warrior who brought home a victim for sacrifice or part of one was thereafter called by the name of his victim. The *pudendum* of a woman was sometimes atached to a lock of a victorious warrior's hair and was worn as a sign of his prowess (4). Fingers were saved and worn on the loin cloth of the captor. Other long bones were used in making ornaments, fan handles, hair and drum cord binders, and fish hooks. But the most important of the prizes was the head. The skull and the name of a foe went to the man who killed him. This and other relics such as hands, for example, were consecrated and dried by the priest in the temple by means of some rite of which I have no account, and were then returned to the victor. When warriors went into battle they wore these prizes on the loin cloth, on the ankle, or hanging down on the back by a cord from the neck. Langsdorff (18, pp. 149-50) describes such ornaments of the warrior as being decorated with hog's bristles, and having the underjaw fastened to it ingeniously with coconut fibers, and Marchand (22, p. 116) tells us that warriors sometimes wore three of these trophies at one time. In peace times these prizes were hung up in the houses or wrapped in cloth and secreted. The following is Melville's description (23, p. 265) of skulls that he saw:

> The skull was in a state of perfect preservation, and from the slight glimpse I had of it, seemed to have been subjected to some smoking operation which had reduced it to the dry, hard, and mummy-like appearance it presented. The two long scalp-locks were twisted up into balls upon the crown of the head in the same way that the individual had worn them during life. The sunken cheeks were rendered yet more ghastly by the rows of glistening teeth which protruded from between the lips, while the sockets of the eyes—filled with oval bits of mother-of-pearl shell, with a black spot in the centre—heightened the hideousness of its aspect.

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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(excepting only a whale's tooth) as they are particularly desirous of improving the breed of that animal. Soon after I sent my present on shore, Gattanewa came on board in a boat, which I had sent for him, accompanied by Mr. Maury. I had seen several of their warriors since my arrival, many of them highly ornamented with plumes, formed of the feathers of cocks and man-of-war birds, and the long tail feathers of the tropic bird; large tufts of hair were tied round their waists, their ancles, and their loins. They wore a cloak, sometimes of red cloth, but more frequently of a white paper cloth, formed of the bark of a tree, thrown not inelegantly over the shoulders, with large round or oval ornaments in their ears, formed of whales' teeth, ivory, or a kind of soft and light wood, whitened with chalk. From their neck suspended a whales' tooth, or highly polished shell, and round their loins several turns of the stronger kind of paper-cloth, the end of which hangs before in the manner of an apron. This, with a black and highly polished spear of about twelve feet in length, or a club richly carved, and borne on the shoulders, constitutes the dress and equipment of a native warrior, whose body is highly and elegantly ornamented by tattooing, executed in a manner to excite our admiration. What was my astonishment when Gattanewa presented himself; an infirm old man of seventy years of age, destitute of every covering or ornament except a clout about his loins, and a piece of palm leaf tied about his head; a long stick seemed to assist him in walking; his face and body were as black as a negro's, from the quantity of tattooing, which entirely covered them, and his skin was rough, and appeared to be peeling off in scales, from the quantity of kava (an intoxicating root) in which he had indulged himself. Such was the figure that Gattanewa presented; and as he had drank freely of the kava before he made his visit, he appeared to be perfectly stupid. He, previous to his departure, requested me to assist him in his war with the Happahs. I told him I should not engage in any hostilities, unless the Happahs came into the valley; in which case I should protect him and his people.

Next morning he sent me a present, consisting of hogs and several boat loads of cocoa nuts and plantains, which were distributed among the crews of the different vessels. I now unbent my sails, and sent them on shore, and landed my water-casks, with which I formed a complete enclosure, sufficiently spacious to answer all our purposes. The ship was hauled close in with the beach, and we began in good earnest to make our repairs. A tent was pitched within the enclosure, and the place put under the protection of a guard of marines. In the afternoon several officers went on shore to visit the villages, when I perceived a large body of the Happahs descending from the mountains into the

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

naturally that it also appeared only upon people of advanced years (6, p. 130; 13, p. 102-103), a circumstance which undoubtedly led to Captain Chanal's conclusion that the marks had no relation to anything but age (11, p. 111).

While the *tuhuna* was paid generously for work on an *opou*, the eldest son of a wealthy man, no payment was asked of the *ka'ioi*, a more or less unorganized group of younger sons and daughters, who took such part in the preparations as raiding for food and building the special house, and who slipped in to have designs punctured upon them gratis when the *opou* was resting or recuperating from the effects of the operation. It is perhaps these *ka'ioi* to whom Melville (12, p. 49) refers in speaking of the common fellows who were practiced on. Langsdorff was apparently unaware of this custom, for he says that those who could not afford tattooing went without:

> The poorer islanders who have not a superabundance of hogs to dispose of in luxuries, but live chiefly themselves upon breadfruit, are operated upon by novices in the art, who take them at a very low price as subjects for practice. The lowest class of all, the fishermen principally, are often not able to afford even the pay required by a novice, and are therefore not tattooed at all. (10, p. 120.)

With the lower classes noticeably less tattooed than the higher, the conclusion was often drawn by early visitors that this form of decoration pointed out noble or distinguished persons (8, p. 155 and 13, p. 84). Berchon, writing in 1859, avows that all classes were tattooed at that time, but that formerly it was a sign of nobility and distinction. From what is to be gathered today from living informants, this is a misconception, in the main, based on the fact that wealth was in the hands of chiefs and distinguished men.

Melville (13, p. 102) at one time assigns tattooing to the warrior class, but present information states that the untattooed as well as the tattooed went to war. That warriors, as well as other groups, wore special designs as badges is stated by modern informants as true in a few instances, and is frequently suggested by the early voyagers to the Marquesas. Spirals over the eyes (Pl. v, 7) are today described as belonging to all warriors in ancient times, while spirals called *kokoata* on cheeks and hips indicated chiefs, as do the tiny pinlike marks (Pl. xxxvii, *G. d*) to be seen today on the inside of the left ankle. After a battle these marks—according to the informants—were sought for by the priest of a victorious army on the ankles of the slain to determine whether a chief had been killed and a great battle fought. Beyond these distinguishing marks, living informants make no mention of the badges described

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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by early visitors, such as the *mata-komoe* distinguishing a hero (10, Pl. VIII, fig. 9; p. xv), the marks of high birth put upon the arms of women in families of chiefs (18, p. 222-223), the tattooed right hand and left foot of women as a sign of wedlock (13, p. 221-222). Mr. Linton was told that only chiefs had their feet tattooed; but this is not borne out in the late practice of the art nor corroborated by other informants. The confusion probably arises either from the distinguishing chiefly marks being upon the ankle, or from the custom of tattooing the body of the *opou* from the feet up, contrary-wise to that of the *ka'ioi*.

The only distinguishing feature of the tattooing of a *ka'ioi*, as reported today, is the order in which the designs were put on, the face being decorated first. The reason assigned by a Pua Ma'u informant for the custom of beginning with the feet of the *opou* was that the face if tattooed first was liable to become infected and cause a stoppage of the operation. It is possible that the reverse order in the case of the *ka'ioi* was the result of indifference as to their fortunes, but it is also possible that there was here a fundamental class distinction. There is no proof today that the work was not of the same pattern as that of the *opou*, though Melville thought he distinguished a difference in the quality of the work put upon "inferior natives," their designs appearing to him like daubs of a house-painter's brush (13, p. 250).

Berchon says that tattooing was an obligation rather than a mark of distinction for women, that the right hand must be tattooed by the age of twelve so that it might be used in making *popoi*, in making *pakoko* (the circular movement of two fingers in taking up *popoi* to eat it) and in rubbing dead bodies with coconut oil (1, p. 114-115). Natives today say that an untattooed hand could not make *popoi* nor eat it from the same bowl as a tattooed hand, that a tattooed man could not eat with a woman, and that a man with all his designs finished could not eat with a man whose designs were unfinished; but any reason for these requisites beyond their being "pretty" is unknown. Women would not marry untattooed men, probably because the decoration represented either wealth, endurance of pain, style, or all three.

A special effort was made to find some trace of banqueting societies distinguished by marks tattooed on the chest, which Krusenstern, Langsdorff, and Melville[9] describe (8, p. 159-160; 10, p. 121-122; 12, p. 50-51); but no memory of anything in the nature of such fraternal orders supported by the chief and tattooed gratis is discoverable today. With Berchon's con-

[9] All of the detailed information of Krusenstern and Langsdorff came from two white sailors living among the natives, whose accounts are in many instances unmistakably erroneous and exaggerated. It would not surprise me in the least if